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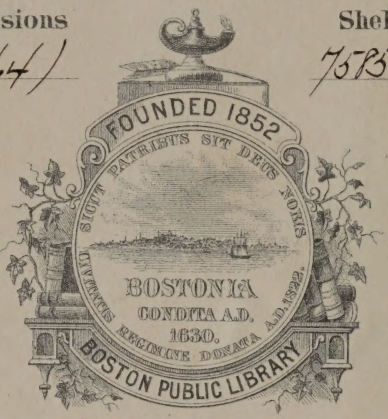

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April 29, 1891.

DEBATE

AT THE

LANE SEMINARY, CINCINNATI.

SPEECH

OF

JAMES A. THOME, OF KENTUCKY,

DELIVERED AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

May 6, 1834.

LETTER

OF THE

REV. DR. SAMUEL H. COX,

AGAINST THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

BOSTON:
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PREFACE.

THE result of the great debate in the Lane Seminary, in relation to Slavery and the American Colonization Society, presents one of the noblest exhibitions of the power of truth upon the hearts and consciences of man, that the world has ever witnessed. The letter of Mr. STANTON, giving the particulars thereof, is remarkable for its simplicity, ingenuousness, and moral excellence. The Rev. Dr. BEECHER is the President of Lane Seminary; and the institution itself is second in importance to no other in the United States.

The speech of Mr. JAMES A. THOME has made a very powerful impression upon the public mind. This young gentleman is the son of a slaveholder in Kentucky; and the attitude assumed by him, therefore, is truly sublime. The abominations of the slave system which he discloses, are of the most painful aud dreadful character, and clearly show that there is no other remedy for them than the immediate and utter overthrow of slavery.

Great weight will be given to the Rev. Dr. Cox's letter, inasmuch as he is one of the most distinguished clergymen in this country, and was for many years the steadfast though mistaken advocate of a Society which he now utterly repudiates.

This pamphlet merits a wide circulation; and it is hoped that the friends of bleeding humanity will assist by their means in putting it into every family.

GREAT DEBATE AT LANE SEMINARY.

LANE SEMINARY, Walnut Hill, near Cincinnati, Ohio, March 10, 1834.

BROTHER LEAVITT—Many of your readers are undoubtedly interested in whatever concerns this rising institution. Therefore, I send you the following. Slavery and its proposed remedies—immediate abolition and colonization, have been subjects of occasional remark among the students, since the commencement of the late term (June). A flourishing Colonization Society has existed among us almost from the foundation of the institution. Our interest in these topics increased gradually until about the first of February, when it was resolved that we discuss publicly the merits of the colonization and abolition schemes. At this time, there were but few decided abolitionists in the Seminary. The two following questions were discussed, separately:

1st. "*Ought the people of the Slaveholding States to abolish Slavery immediately?*"

2d. "*Are the doctrines, tendencies, and measures of the American Colonization Society, and the influence of its principal supporters, such as render it worthy of the patronage of the Christian public?*"

Our respected faculty, fearing the effect the discussion would have upon the prosperity of the Seminary, formally *advised*, that it should be postponed indefinitely. But the students, feeling great anxiety that it should proceed, and being persuaded from the state of feeling among them, that it would be conducted in a manner becoming young men looking forward to the ministry of the gospel of reconciliation, resolved to go on. The President, and the members of the faculty, with one exception, were present during parts of the discussion.

Each question was debated nine evenings of two hours and a half each; making forty-five hours of solid debate. We possessed some facilities for discussing both these questions intelligently. We are situated within one mile of a slaveholding State; eleven of our number were born and brought up in slave States, seven of whom were sons of slaveholders, and one of them was himself a slaveholder, till recently; one of us had been a slave, and had bought his freedom, "with a great sum," which his own hands had earned; ten others had lived more or less in slave States, besides several who had travelled in the midst of slavery, making inquiries and searching after truth. We possessed all the numbers of the African Repository, from its commencement, nearly all the Annual Reports of the Colonization Society, and the prominent documents of the Anti-Slavery Society. In addition to the above, our kind friends in the city, furnished us with Colonization pamphlets in profusion. Dr. Shane, a young gentleman of Cincinnati, who had been out to Liberia, with a load of emigrants, as an agent of the Colonization Society, furnished us with a long statement concerning the colony; and a distinguished instructress, recently of Hartford, Connecticut, now of Cincinnati, sent us a communication from her hand, which attempted to prove, that Colonizationists and Abolitionists ought to unite their efforts, and not contend against one another.—These were our materials. And, sir, it was emphatically a discussion of *facts*, FACTS, FACTS.

The first speaker occupied nearly two evenings, in presenting facts concerning slavery and immediate emancipation, gathered from various authentic documents. Conclusions and inferences were then drawn from these facts, and arguments founded upon them favourable to immediate abolition, during the two next evenings. Nearly four of the remaining five evenings were devoted to the recital of facts, in regard to slavery, slaves, and slaveholders, gathered, not from written documents, but from careful personal observation and experience. Nearly half of the seventeen speakers, on the evenings last alluded to, were the sons of slaveholders; one had been a slaveholder himself; one had till recently been a slave; and the residue were residents of, or had recently travelled or lived in slave States. From their testimony, the following facts and premises were established, to wit: That slaves long for freedom; that it is a subject of very frequent conversation among them; that they know their masters have no right to hold them in slavery; that they keenly feel the wrong, the insult and the degradation which are heaped upon them by the whites; they feel no interest comparatively in their master's affairs, because they know he is their oppressor; they are indolent, because nothing

they can earn is their own; they pretend to be more ignorant and stupid than they really are, so as to avoid responsibility, and to shun the lash for any real or alleged disobedience to orders; when inspired with a promise of freedom, they will toil with incredible alacrity and faithfulness; they tell their masters and drivers they are contented with their lot, merely through fear of greater cruelty if they tell the truth; no matter how kind their master is, they are dissatisfied, and would rather be his hired servants than his slaves; the slave-drivers are generally low, brutal, debauched men, distinguished only for their cruelty and licentiousness; they generally have the despotic control of the slaves; the best side of slavery is seen; its darker features being known only to slaves, masters and drivers; [upon this point, horrid facts, in regard to the whipping and *murdering* of slaves, were developed. God sparing my life, they shall be given to the public.] The state of morals among slaves, especially in regard to licentiousness, is sickening! This condition is attributable to the treatment they receive from their masters; they being huddled together from their infancy in small apartments without discrimination of sex; and oftentimes being compelled to steal or starve; the influence of slavery upon the physical condition, and mental and moral character of the whites, is decidedly and lamentably pernicious; the internal slave trade is increasing, and is carried on by men distinguished, even among slave-drivers, for their cruelty and brutality! No class in the country have stronger social affections, than slaves; nevertheless, the ties of parent and child, husband and wife, brother and sister, are torn asunder by this bloody traffic. A husband has been known to cut his throat deliberately, because this damnable traffic was about to separate him from a wife whom he tenderly loved. The horrid character of Louisiana slavery, was developed in some degree by one who had resided there. The planters in that State, when sugar commands a high price, do not hesitate to kill a few of their negroes by overworking, if by that means they can bring more sugar into a favourable market; in consequence of this, one of the usual prayers of the poor negro is, *that sugar may be cheap.* Multitudes of slaves are being carried into that State from other slave States; blacks are kidnapped from this State, (Ohio,) and sold into slavery; slaves are decidedly hostile to Liberia, and only consent to go there to escape from slavery; masters are generally opposed to their negroes being educated; *that the blacks are abundantly able to take care of, and provide for themselves; and that they would be kind and docile if immediately emancipated.* These points, with many others equally important, were established, so far as a multitude of facts could establish them. On the two last points, the following was interesting and decisive.

James Bradley, the emancipated slave above alluded to, addressed us nearly two hours; and I wish his speech could have been heard by every opponent of immediate emancipation, to wit: first, that "it would be unsafe to the community;" second, that "the condition of the emancipated negroes would be worse than it now is; that they are incompetent to provide for themselves; that they would become paupers and vagrants, and would rather steal than work for wages." This shrewd and intelligent black, cut up these *white objections* by the roots, and withered and scorched them under the sun of sarcastic argumentation, for nearly an hour, to which the assembly responded in repeated and spontaneous roars of laughter, which were heartily joined in by both Colonizationists and Abolitionists. Do not understand me as saying, that his speech was devoid of *argument.* No. It contained sound logic, enforced by apt illustrations. I wish the slanderers of negro intellect could have witnessed this unpremeditated effort. I will give you a sketch of this man's history. He was stolen from Africa when an infant, and sold into slavery. His master, who resided in Arkansas, died, leaving him to his widow. He was then about eighteen years of age. For some years, *he managed the plantation for his mistress.* Finally, he purchased his time by the year, and began to earn money to buy his freedom. After five years of toil, having paid his owners $655, besides supporting himself during the time, he received his "free papers," and emigrated to a free State with more than $200 in his pocket. Every cent of this money, $855, he earned by labour and trading. He is now a beloved and respected member of this institution.

Now, Mr. Editor, can slaves take care of themselves if emancipated? I answer the question in the language employed by brother Bradley, on the above occasion. "They have to take care of, and support themselves *now, and their master, and his family into the bargain;* and this being so, it would be strange if they could not provide for themselves, *when disencumbered from this load.*" He said the great desire of the slaves was "*liberty and education.*" And shall this heaven-born desire be trampled in the dust by a free and Christian nation?

At the close of the ninth evening, the vote was taken on the first question, *when every individual voted in the affirmative except four or five,* who excused themselves from voting at all, on the ground that they had not made up their opinion. Every friend of the cause rendered a hearty tribute of thanksgiving to God, for the glorious issue.

At the next evening, we entered upon the discussion of the second question. Here, there was a much greater diversity of sentiment. But we entered upon the debate not like blinded partizans, but like men whose polar star was facts and truth, whose needle was conscience, whose chart the Bible.

The witnesses summoned to the stand, were the documents of the Colonization Society. They were examined at great length and in great numbers. We judged it out of its own mouth. There was no paucity of testimony; for, as I before observed, we had all its "Repositories," and nearly all its Reports and Addresses, in addition to which, we were benevolently furnished by friends with numerous collated witnesses, whom we of course had the privilege of cross-examining. Notwithstanding the length of this part of the discussion, but two individuals spoke, one on each side, and another read some testimony in favour of the Colony. Several individuals at the opening of the debate, intended to speak on the affirmative, but before it was closed, they became warmly attached to the other side. Others were induced to espouse the cause of anti-Colonizationism, by examining documents of the Colonization Society, for the purpose of preparing to speak in the affirmative. *Most of the Colonizationists who expressed any opinion on the subject, declared their ignorance of the doctrines and measures of the Society until this debate.* They cannot find words to express their astonishment that they should have been so duped into the support of this Society, as a scheme of benevolence towards the free blacks, and a remedy for slavery. They now repudiate it with all their hearts. Is it not a fact that the great majority of the supporters of this Society *have never examined* its doctrines, its tendencies and measures? Do not nine-tenths of the Colonizationists with whom you come in contact, express incredulous surprise at the announcement of almost any one of its prominent doctrines, and meet you with the reply, "This cannot be so?" Is it not the "immediate" duty of such men (benevolent, and scrupulously honest, no doubt,) to examine this subject?

I will state a fact. A member of this Institution was a member of the Oneida Institute, during the Colonization debate held there last summer, and took an active part in that discussion. An anti-Slavery and a Colonization Society were the offspring of this debate. My worthy brother was placed at the head of the latter Society. He was a sincere friend of the negro, and what is quite as rare, was a consistent and practical man. About five months since, he left Oneida, and came to Lane Seminary. On his way hither, he took great pains to converse with every negro he could find about emigrating to Liberia. He talked with some thirty or forty, all of whom except one, were incorrigible in their preference to remain in their native land, rather than to emigrate "home" to a foreign shore. This shook his faith in the entire practicability of the scheme. Still he arrived here, the warm friend of the Society; and so continued, until this debate, in which he intended to have taken an active part. But before he had an opportunity to take the floor, facts pressed upon him, (he was always open to conviction,) he changed his views, became the decided opponent of the Society, has left the Institution for the purpose of commencing a school for the education of the people of colour in Cincinnati, and has devoted himself to the elevation of the free blacks on our own soil, and to the making up of a public sentiment favourable to the abolition of slavery without expatriation. I would give you his name were it not that he is about to present to the public some interesting facts, bearing upon slavery and emancipation, which he has collected within a few weeks among the free people of colour, in Cincinnati, in the course of which he will probably allude to the facts stated above by me. This, sir, is what I call practical anti-colonizationism.

At the close of the debate, the question was taken by ayes and noes, and decided in the negative with only one dissenting voice. Four or five who did not regularly attend the discussion, declined voting. Two or three others were absent from the Seminary.—When the debate commenced, I had fears that there might be some unpleasant excitement, particularly as slaveholders, and prospective heirs to slave property, were to participate in it. But the kindest feelings prevailed. There was no crimination, no denunciation, no impeachment of motives. And the result has convinced me that prejudice is vincible, that colonization is vulnerable, and that immediate emancipation is not only right, and practicable, but is "*expedient.*"

The result has convinced me of another thing, which I hail as the bright bow of promise to this holy cause. It is that southern minds, trained and educated amidst all the prejudices of a slaveholding community, can, with the blessing of God, be reached and influenced by *facts and arguments, as easy as any other class of our citizens.* To be sure, they will not endure *blind* and *unintelligent* denunciation; and what *rational* being will? But after being thoroughly aroused by facts, they will receive rebuke, remonstrance, and entreaty, if kindly offered, with that frankness and honesty which have ever marked the southern character. And when thoroughly converted, they manifest an ardor in behalf of the deeply injured black, which astonishes while it delights. Almost all of

our southern brethren are engaged in colored Sabbath schools and Bible classes. Some of them have devoted their lives in doing good to that oppressed race. Let me state one or two facts on this point. The son of a slaveholder has just left the institution on account of ill-health, with a determination that he will not cease his efforts until his parent is induced to liberate his slaves. Another said, until this debate, he had ever considered slaveholding right, but now, being convinced it was wrong, he should exert an influence accordingly. Another entered this institution last spring the owner of two slaves. Having been taught to look upon slavery as a necessary evil and not a sin, he hired out his slaves where they would receive kind treatment, intending that the proceeds of their labor should aid him in his preparations for the ministry. Towards the close of the last session, facts were pressed upon his conscience, his duty was pointed out, he saw it, returned home to Kentucky, liberated his slaves—and now, instead of their working to educate *him*, he is working and studying, and educating *them*. I need not add, that, on this occasion, he took the side of immediate abolition, and anti-colonization. This, sir, is what I call *practical* 'immediate emancipation.'

It is the decided opinion of our brethren from the slave states, that if the plan of abolition proposed by the friends of that measure, could be kindly spread out before the southern community, and the entire practicability of the scheme illustrated and enforced by existing facts, slaveholders would embrace it as the only rational remedy for slavery, and would come over to the cause of immediate emancipation in crowds. They have somehow got the opinion that *abolition* is an infuriated monster, with a thousand heads and ten thousand horns, panting after blood, and ready to gore to death every slaveholder in the Union. And is it wonderful that they should receive this impression, when we consider the tone of the Colonization journals of the north? Our southern fellow-citizens should be disabused on this vitally interesting subject. Depend upon it, the *people*, (I speak not of *politicians*,) the *people* of the south are not devoid of reason. *I know* that facts and reasoning *have* prevailed with them: and until truth loses its power, they *will continue* to prevail, overcoming prejudice, reaching the conscience, and changing the mind. I am acquainted with intelligent gentlemen residing in this country, not professing Christians, who are intimately acquainted with slavery in all its details, having lived many years in slaveholding states, who *on principles of potitical economy*, are the decided advocates of immediate emancipation. Look at the facts as they exist in this seminary. Every member of this institution who was born and brought up in the midst of slavery, or who now resides in a slave state, with one exception, is the advocate of immediate abolition without expatriation. [The opinion of one who was absent from the seminary during the debate, I do not know.] There has been no necromancy employed in this work. *Prayer, the Bible, the condition of the slave, and the documents of the Colonization Society*, have been the instruments. When a brother resolved to use these means faithfully, we had no anxiety as to the result. Would not the use of these measures by every Christian in the land work wonders in the American church? Alas! how few Christians have prayed over, and talked about, and examined a system which crushes into the dust two millions of their brethren and sisters, and consigns them over to oppression, to caprice, to lust, to brutality, to ignorance, to degradation, to death, to damnation. I thank God that the night of torpor is past in this institution; that prejudice has been buried in a dishonored grave, and that the persecuted blacks, bond and free, have a place in our sympathies, our prayers, and our labors.

Some important facts in regard to the character of emancipated negroes, and their ability to provide for themselves, have recently fallen under my observation in the city of Cincinnati. A large majority of the adult blacks in that city, are liberated slaves. Many of them earned with their own hands and paid six hundred, nine hundred, and some nearly fourteen hundred dollars for themselves individually, for themselves and their families. The majority of these have likewise acquired considerable property since their liberation. Many of them have already purchased their friends out of slavery!—and it is probable that at least one third of the adult blacks in this city, are employed in earning money to buy their friends and relatives now in slavery. And this too is accomplished under peculiar embarrassments, heaped upon them by the oppressive laws of this state. They hold a debating society for mutual improvement every week. A lyceum in which lectures will be delivered two or three times a week, and male and female schools, are being established among them by abolitionists of the institution. Many of them meet in Bible classes, and Sabbath schools. And yet, these industrious people, have to be constantly on the alert to avoid being kidnapped, and sold into slavery, to supply the New-Orleans market! It has several times happened to these persecuted people, *after partly paying the ransom* of their relatives, that the master has sold the objects of their toil to slave-traders, who have carried them into hopeless bondage. This was the case recently in regard to a wife, whose husband had paid in part for her

freedom, and was laboring in this county to earn the residue. The master sold her for the New-Orleans market! A grand-mother had redeemed her daughter, and several grand-children, out of slavery. Only one little girl remained, and the stipulated sum for her liberation had nearly all been paid. Disregarding his solemn pledges, the master sold the child to a man who was about to remove out of the state (Kentucky.) Distracted, the grand-mother went to the former master and entreated him with tears, either to re-purchase the little girl, or refund the money she had paid him. He would do neither. With much effort, she succeeded in borrowing a sum sufficient to purchase her at full price of the latter master, while the former retained his ill gotten lucre. This transpired within three weeks. But why need I go on? Who will heed the cry of the oppressed? My soul sickens as I ponder over these *legalized* cruelties. Is it surprising that these persons do not rise higher in the scale of wealth, intelligence and respectability? Pressed down as they are by the whites, under such a load of prejudice, and civil and educational disabilities—and liable to be kidnapped and sold into slavery, is it not surprising that they rise at all? It is literally true, that they stint themselves in food and clothing, and go bare-headed and bare-footed, so that they may appropriate their earnings to the purchase of relatives in bondage. Noble spirits! An emancipated slave said to me to-day, '*Even freedom is bitter to us, while our friends are in slavery!* And shall we make the *present* degradation of the free blacks, *which is the work of our own hands*, the premises from which to draw the conclusion, that 'they can never rise in this country,' and *therefore*, 'it is benevolent in *us* to transport them to a foreign shore where they can escape' *our* 'persecutions?' It is easier to estimate the *benevolence* of the argument, than to discover its *soundness*.

This evening, we formed an Anti-Slavery Society.

Yours in the gospel,

H. B. STANTON.

SPEECH OF MR. JAMES A. THOME, Of Kentucky,

Delivered at the first anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the City of New York, May 6, 1834.

Mr. JAMES A. THOME, of Kentucky, a delegate from the Anti-Slavery Society of Lane Seminary, was introduced to the meeting, and moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That our principles commend themselves to the consciences and interest of slaveholders; and that recent developements indicate the speedy triumph of our cause.

Of the truth of the first proposition contained in this resolution, that our principles commend themselves to the consciences and interest of slaveholders, I have the honor to stand before you a living witness. I am from Kentucky. There I was born and wholly educated. The associations of youth and the attachments of growing years; prejudices, opinions and habits forming and fixing during my whole life, conspire to make me a Kentuckian indeed. More than this; I breathed my first breath in the atmosphere of slavery; I was suckled at its breast and dandled on its knee. Black, black, black was before me at every step; the sure badge of infamy. The sympathies of nature, even in their spring tide, were dried up; compassion was deadened, and the heart was steeled by repeated scenes of cruelty and oft-taught lessons of the coloured man's inferiority.

What shall I say is the result either of experience or of personal observation.

Abolition principles do take strong hold of the conscience and of interest too. Permit me to say, sir, I was for several years a member of the Colonization Society. I contributed to its funds and eulogized its measures, and now, though I would not leave my path to attack this Institution, yet duty bids me state, solemnly and deliberately, that its direct influence upon my mind was to lessen my conviction of the evil of slavery, and to deepen and sanctify my prejudice against the coloured race.

But, sir, far otherwise with abolition.—Within a few months residence at Lane Seminary, and by means of a discussion unparalleled in the brotherly feeling and fairness which characterized it, and the results which it brought out, the great principles of duty stood forth, sin revived, and I died. And, sir, though I am at this moment the heir to a slave inheritance, and though, forsooth, I am one of those *unfortunate* beings upon whom slavery is by force ENTAILED, yet I am bold to denounce the whole system as an outrage, a complication of crimes and wrongs, and cruelties that make angels weep. This is the spirit which your principles inspire. Indeed, I know of no subject which takes such strong hold of the man as does abolition. It seizes the conscience with an authoritative grasp; it runs across every path of the guilty, haunts him, goads him, and rings in his ear the cry of blood. It builds a wall up to heaven before him and around him; it goes with the eye of God, and searches his heart with a scrutiny too strict to be eluded. It writes "thou art the man," upon the forehead of every oppressor.

It also commands the avenues to the human heart, and rushes up through them all to take the citadel of feeling. All the sympathies are its advocates, and every susceptibility to compassionate outraged humanity stands pledged to do its work.

Will you permit me to state some of the vantage grounds upon which we stand in the public discussion of this question?

1. The duty of the slaveholder. The duty of the slaveholder: what a weapon! a host in itself! sure as the throne of God, and strong as the arm of God. It is untrue that this consideration loses its force in slave States. It is the power of God there and on this subject, as it is elsewhere, and on every other. Facts are daily occurring which show that when every other motive fails, this is efficient. It is a libel upon the Western character, to say that duty there must bow before *expediency;* and this miserable policy will soon be visited with a just rebuke from the people it has slandered.

2. Again. The sufferings of the slaves. It is well known that in Kentucky, slavery wears its mildest features. Kentucky slaveholders are generally ignorant of the cruelties which are practised further South, and on this score are little aware of the bearings of the system. Those good matter-of-fact patriots, who call such recitals "the poetry of philanthropy," and who in the South have the control of the press, have studiously refrained from instructing the public on this point. A noble expedient this, to close the ear of the oppressor against the wail of the oppressed. But it will not avail. The voice of their lamentations is waxing louder, and *it will be heard.* Sir, is it not unquestionable that slavery is the parent of more suffering than has flowed from any one source since the date of its existence? Such sufferings too! Sufferings inconceivable and innumerable; anguish from mind degraded; hopelessness from violated chastity; bitterness from character, reputation and honour annihilated; unmingled wretchedness from the ties of nature rudely broken and destroyed, the acutest bodily torture in every muscle and joint; groans, tears and blood; lying forever in perils among robbers, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

What! are these our brethren? And have we fattened, like jackalls, upon their living flesh! Sir, when once the great proposition that negroes are *human beings*, a proposition now scouted by many with contempt, is clearly demonstrated and drawn out on the Southern sky, and when underneath it is written the bloody corollary, the sufferings of the negro race, the seared conscience will again sting, and the stony heart will melt.

But, brethren of the North, be not deceived. These sufferings still exist; and despite the efforts of their cruel authors to hush them down, and confine them within the precincts of their own plantations, they will, ever and anon, struggle up and reach the ear of humanity.

A general fact; though I would by no means intimate that Kentucky slaveholders are themselves free from cruelty: far from it! yet I have found, in narrating particular cases to them, as evident expressions of horror and indignation as men ordinarily feel in other sections of our country. Such facts have their effect upon them.

3. Licentiousness. I shall not speak of the far South, whose sons are fast melting away under the unblushing profligacy which prevails. I allude to the slaveholding West. It is well known that the slave lodgings, I refer now to village slaves, are exposed to the entrance of strangers every hour of the night, and that the sleeping apartments of both sexes are common.

It is also a fact, that there is no allowed intercourse between the families and servants, after the work of the day is over. The family, assembled for the evening, enjoy a conversation elevating and instructive.—But the poor slaves are thrust out. No ties of sacred home thrown around them; no moral instruction to compensate for the toils of the day; no intercourse as of man with man; and should one of the younger members of the family, led by curiosity, steal out into the filthy kitchen, the child is speedily called back, thinking itself happy if it escape an angry rebuke. Why this? The dread of moral contamination. Most excellent reason; but it reveals a horrid picture. The slaves, thus cut off from all community of feeling with their master, roam over the village streets, shocking the ear with their vulgar jestings, and voluptuous songs, or opening their kitchens to the reception of the neighbouring blacks, they pass the evening in gambling, dancing, drinking, and the most obscene conversation, kept up until the night is far spent, then crown the scene with indiscriminate debauchery. Where do these things occur? In the kitchens of church members and elders!

But another general fact. After all the care of parents to hide these things from their children, the young inquisitors pry them out, and they are apt scholars truly. It is a short sighted parent who does not perceive that his domestics influence very materially the early education of his children. Between the female slaves and the misses, there is an unrestrained communication. As they come in contact through the day, the courtezan feats of the over-night are whispered into the ear of the unsuspecting girl, to poison her youthful mind.

Bring together these three facts. 1st. That slave lodgings are exposed, and both sexes fare promiscuously. 2d. That the slaves are excluded from the social, moral and intellectual advantages of the family, and left

to seek such enjoyments as a debased appetite suggests. And 3d. That the slaves have free interchange of thought with the younger members of the family; and ask yourselves what must be the results of their combined operation.

Yet those are only *some* of the ingredients in this great system of licentiousness. Pollution, pollution! Young men of talents and respectability, fathers, professors of religion, ministers, all classes! Overwhelming pollution! I have facts; but I forbear to state them; facts which have fallen under my own observation, startling enough to arouse the moral indignation of the community.

I would not have you fail to understand that this is a general evil. Sir, what I now say, I say from deliberate conviction of its truth; let it be felt in the North, and rolled back upon the South, that the slave States are Sodoms, and almost every village family is a brothel. (In this, I refer to the inmates of the kitchens, and not to the whites.) And it is well. God be blessed for the evils which this cursed sin entails. They only show that whatever is to be feared from the abolition of slavery, horrors a hundred fold greater cluster about its existence. Heap them up, all hideous as they are, and crowd them home; they will prove an effectual medicine. Let me be understood here.—This pollution is the offspring of slavery; it springs not from the *character* of the *negro*, but from the *condition* of the *slave*.

I have time merely to allude to several other considerations.

4. The fears of slaveholders. These afford strong evidence that conscience is at work. In the most peaceful villages of Kentucky, masters at this time sleep with muskets in their bedrooms, or a brace of pistols at their heads.

5. Their acknowledgements. The very admissions which they make for the purpose of silencing their growing conviction of duty, may be successfully turned upon them. They almost unanimously say that slavery is a great evil; that it is abstractly wrong; yet there is no help for it: or their slaves are better off than they are; or, or, or.

Now, be they sincere or insincere, out of their own mouth we can condemn them. I met, the other day, in travelling a short distance on the Ohio river, with a good illustration of the manner in which these admissions are made. It is also a pretty faithful exhibition of the uneasy, conscience-struck spirit which is beginning to pervade Kentucky. The individual was a citizen of that State, and a slaveholder in it. He was free in conversation on the subject of slavery. He declared in the outset that slavery was wrong; a most iniquitous system, and ought to be abolished. Quite a point gained, thought I, and I proceeded very confidently to the application. But I soon found that my friend had deserted his position. "The old dispensation, sir; what d'ye think of that? Did'nt Abraham hold slaves? and besides, what does Paul say?"

You perceive he was a *Christian*, sir; quite orthodox withal.

Soon again he returned to his post, and asserted as roundly as before, the wickedness of slavery. "Wrong, totally wrong! I would free all my slaves if—but—O, tell me, sir, were not the Jews permitted to hold slaves because they were a favored people; and are not WE a favored people? Abraham, Paul, the old dispensation;" and thus he rung the changes, stung on the one hand by a guilty conscience, and met on the other by opposing selfishness. It may be said, this man was not intelligent. He was unusually so *on every other subject*.

6. Safety of emancipation. On this point, the slaveholder is more than ignorant; he is deplorably misinformed. Who have been his counsellors, judge ye. It is remarkable what a unanimity of sentiment prevails on this subject.

You would suppose that they had long been plied with stories of butchered parents, murdered children, and plundered houses. This might be discouraging if the short history of emancipation did not furnish us with so many conclusive facts. With these facts you are quite familiar; and yet there is no objection more common than the dangers, the dangers of emancipation. Travel in slaveholding States, and talk with masters, and you will find, in a great majority of cases, they will point to St. Domingo, and exultingly say, "Behold the consequences of your measures."

7. Slaveholders are not so inaccessible as they are thought to be in the North. There is a strong degree of excitability in the character of our Southern brethren, it is true; but this is not all. There is reason too, and common sense, and conscience.

I, for one, beg leave to enter my decided protest against those *friendly* representations of the Southern character, which have been made to scare away abolitionists, and prolong a guilty repose. Unless I read amiss, assertions are repeatedly made to this effect; that argument, in the South, has no weight; that truth, facts, experience are all inefficacious; that slaveholders have no conscience, no heart, no soul, no principle, nothing but selfishness, that they are boisterous and passionate when you speak of the rights of man, and you must beware—soft! delicate matters! Sir, I repudiate these sentiments. They are as groundless as they are insulting. Let them strike with all their force against certain wordy orators of the South, whose arguments are powder

and balls, but they illy fit those worthy citizens whose voice consiitutes public sentiment.

The slaveholder, if rightly approached, exhibits all the courtesy for which the South is noted. I have conversed with many, and scarcely know an instance to the contrary. No indignation, no rage, no fierce indications of hostility. I lately had opportunity to converse with several intelligent families, in a small village of Kentucky. The state of feeling was truly gratifying. Many inquiries were made concerning the principles of abolitionists. Some were anxious to know the plans of operation, others expressed themselves in very unexpected terms. Said one, "I am decidedly opposed to the spirit of the Colonization Society." Said another, "I am determined to emancipate my slaves just so soon as circumstances, now without my control, will permit."

8. Kentucky. I have already made frequent allusions to Kentucky. The spirit which is beginning to prevail there, though not a fair representative of the state of the public mind in other slave States, is to be hailed, on other grounds, as constituting no small item in our account. Colonization, which, like the Hindoo goddess, with smiling face and winning air, grasps in her wide embrace, the zeal of the church and the benevolence of the world, and, pressing them to her bosom, thrusts them through with the hidden steel. Colonization has indeed done its mournful work in Kentucky.

[Sir, perhaps I owe an apology to this house, for such frequent allusions to the Colonization Society. This is my apology. I *know* its evils, and can lay my finger on them one by one. I *know* the individual slaves who are now in bondage by its influence *alone*. I *know* the masters whose *only* plea for continuing in the sin, is drawn from *its doctrines*. I know, and therefore have I spoken. Many of its friends I reverence; they are worthy men. But the tendencies of the system I *know* to be pernicious in the extreme.]

But the state is rising above this influence. Conscientious citizens are forming themselves into other associations. Many hold this language: "Slavery stands in opposition to the spirit of the age, to the progress of human improvement; it cannot abide the light of the nineteenth century." The Legislature has taken up the subject. The spirit of inquiry is abroad. "Kentucky is rapidly awakening." She should now fill up the eye of abolitionists; for if she were induced to take a stand with you, her example would be of incalculable worth.

These are some of the results of a life thus far spent in the midst of slavery; less than this I could not prevail upon myself to say. The design of these statements has been to encourage you in your holy enterprise, inasmuch as they show that your principles do take strong hold of the consciences and interest of slaveholders.

Now, sir, the great object of my presence here, is to urge upon you an appeal for renewed effort on the behalf of the slave. The question has been asked here, and repeated in the South, "what has the North to do with slavery?" At present she has every thing to do with it, every thing. Will you please bear in mind three considerations. 1st. We have no abolition paper in the West or South. 2d. Your principles have been grossly misrepresented, and misunderstood. 3d. You have effected incredible things already.

With regard to the first fact I only say, with shame, there is no editor in the Valley who is willing to hazard his living by establishing an abolition press.

2d. I can give you but a faint idea of the notions which are entertained of abolition principles and men. Recklessness, false estimate of right, fanaticism, Quixotism, sublimated austere bigots, incessantly harping upon abstract principles, incendiaries, officious intermeddlers, arrant knaves, who would break up all well ordered society, set every slave at his master's throat, and enjoy the massacre with infinite delight; outlawed renegades who, having themselves no interest at stake, would bankrupt the honest planter, and most horrifying of all, introduce a general systen of amalgamation. Notions so monstrously perverted, have not been caught up at hap-hazard, but most faithfully instilled by the timorous cautionists of our day. But from what source soever they may have come, they clamor for correction, immediate correction. It is of immense importance that the public mind should be disabused by a faithful presentation of facts.

Under all these disadvantages you are doing much. The very little leaven which you have been enabled to introduce is now working with tremendous power. One instance has lately occurred within my acquaintance, of an heir to slave property; a young man of growing influence, who was first awakened by reading a single number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, sent to him by some unknown hand. He is now a whole hearted abolitionist. I have facts to show that cases of this kind are by no means rare. A family of slaves in Arkansas Territory, another in Tennessee, and a third, consisting of eighty-eight, in Virginia, were successively emancipated through the influence of one abolition periodical.

Then do not hesitate as to duty. Do not pause to consider the propriety of interference. It is as unquestionably the province of the North to labour in this cause, as it is the duty of the church to convert the world.

The call is urgent; it is imperative. We want light. The ungodly are saying, "the church will not enlighten us." The church is saying, "the ministry will not enlighten us." The ministry is crying "Peace—take care." We are altogether covered in gross darkness. We appeal to you for light. Send us facts; send us kind remonstrance and manly reasoning. We are perishing for lack of truth. We have been lulled to sleep by the guilty apologist. O *tell* us, if it be true that our bed is a volcano. O, roll off the Colonization incubus which is crushing us down and binding us hand and foot. Show us that "prejudice is vincible," that slavery is *unqualifiedly* wrong, and strip us of every excuse. Come and tell us what shocking scenes are transpiring in our own families under the cover of night. Go with us into our kitchens and lift up the horrid veil; show us the contamination, as it issues thence and wraps its loathsome folds about our sons and daughters.

Nay, tell us if indeed these miserable beings are *themselves* our sisters and brothers, whom we have buried *alive*, with our own hands, in corruption. Point us, with painful exactness, to the forehead, from which God's image is well nigh effaced, to the soulless eye, to the beast-like features, the leaden countenance and the cowering air, and tell us "*That is the immortal mind in ruins.*" Repeat the sufferings of the slave, the stripes, the cruel separation, the forlornness of the friendless slave, and flash upon us the truth, "thy brother, thy brother!"

Sir, we have sympathies yet alive within us, we have feeling. The great deep of our hearts, though it has long been calm, may be moved, and it will be broken up by such stirring facts.

You hear the appeal of the South; can you resist it? You will not. The work is yours; your heart is in it. Move onward, and soon the triumph will be yours.

None but God *can* stay your course, and God is with you.

REV. DR. COX'S LETTER,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK EVANGELIST.

Ethiopia [the people of CUSH] shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.—PSALM lxviii. 31.

Having left America a sincere friend to the cause of the American Colonization Society, I continued sincerely to advocate its merits, and to defend its principles, wherever I went. For this there was no want of occasion. Beyond all my anticipations, the opportunity and the necessity of such advocacy were constantly obtruded; till at last, I almost felt unwilling to go into any mixed company, because of the frequency with which the finest spirits that I met there never failed to encounter me; and sometimes in a way that consciously overmatched me. I was chiefly impressed with the following things, in all the argumentation I witnessed; first, the astonising zeal, and sensitiveness, and avidity to speak in public and private, which they evinced; second, the novelty and extravagance of their positions in favour of universal emancipation, and the thoroughgoing extent to which they boldly drove them, fearless and inexorable in what they viewed as right and obligatory; third, the character of the men who were the chieftains of the argument; they were the most excellent, and exalted, and lovely persons, in the realm, so far as I had any means of judging; and fourth, the extent to which the influence of these principles had gone, in pervading and leavening the mass of the people, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, especially as evinced in kindred antipathy to the cause of the American Colonization Society. It will not be wrong to name such persons as Dr. Morison of London, Professor Edgar of Belfast, and Dr. Heugh of Glasgow. When such men opposed me in debate, with all the zeal of reformers, with much of the light of argument, and more of the love of piety, it was impossible that I should not feel their influence. Still, I replied with perfect conviction, and ordinarily with as much success as could have been rationally expected. There was one point, however, where I always showed and felt weak. It related to a question of fact. Are not the free negroes of your States, especially at the North, almost universally opposed to the project of Colonization? My answer was, no, at least I think not. That the point was a cardinal one, I always perceived; for the Society has to do with the free alone; and, by its constitution, expressly, *with their own consent;* as I think the words are. Besides, if it were any part of the scheme to expatriate to Africa, without their own consent, it would be plainly a national society of kidnappers, and no one could honestly advocate it for an instant. Says the Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, in his recent defence of the Society, as one of its earliest and ablest advocates; "the demonstration has been made that the African is equal to the duties of a freeman. His mind expands as his condition improves." And again; "It should not be forgotten, that the Society treats alone with the *free*, and for freedom's sake. If our coloured brethren prefer to remain among us, let them, with our hearty good will. We compel no reluctant submission to terms. Their welfare has prompted these labours of the Society. It possesses neither the power nor the disposition to constrain consent." These sentiments of the Honourable Senator, are obviously right in ethics and in facts. The So-

ciety negotiates alone with the free, for the sake of freedom; will use no restraint to obtain their consent; and would abhor the thought of proceeding without it. Precisely such were my positions and replies to our trans-atlantic brethren. Then came the question of fact: Have you their consent? Here I could not answer satisfactorily to myself or them. Our opinions were directly opposed. They had evidence too, which I could not answer, that the free negroes of this country were so generally opposed to it, and that with great decision, as to constitute the rule in spite of all exceptions, and so in effect to nullify the pretensions and even the existence of the Society. I admitted that, *if this were so*, the Society was stopped in its career by the lawful and appropriate *veto* of the people themselves; and here generally my mind uneasily rested, after every concussion of sentiment. In this mentally labouring condition, I returned to my native country, purposed to take no public attitude in the matter, until that prime question was ascertained and settled. In this, I have been guilty of no rashness at all. I have withstood party influences, and committed myself to no side; and in avowing now a change of sentiment in the whole affair, I am actuated mainly by a wish to apprise my brethren across the ocean, of what I deem the truth, that so I may undo whatever I did improperly while among them. My investigations have issued in a complete conviction that, on this ground alone, the non-consent or unanimous opposition of the coloured people of this country, especially of the Northern States, and pre-eminently of the better informed of them, the Society is morally annihilated. At all events, I can advocate it no longer. More: if I had known the facts as they might have been known long ago, I never should have advocated the Society; and it is quite probable that many others in this country are in exactly the same predicament. Among other means influential of this change, I have had several interviews and conferences with the Rev. Messrs. Cornish, and Wright, and Williams, of this city, singly and together; whose testimony is entirely one, is perfectly firm, and has never changed, on the question. The respectability of these brethren is indisputable; but alas! their skins are not as fair, nor their hair as straight as ours; and thence, "for such a worthy cause," their remonstrances have been disregarded or precluded. In this wrong, I confess myself to have participated. They did remonstrate, like men, like Christians, and with a sagacity in the matter of their own interests in which our whiter philanthropy has been, I fear, far inferior to theirs. The last of the triumvirate, is a clergyman in communion with the Episcopal church of this city; the others, are of my own denomination, and members of the Presbytery of New York. They are all three intelligent and worthy brethren, possessing the Christian esteem and confidence of all who know them. Thousands can give a hearty testimony to their prudence, forbearance, calmness, and correctness of procedure in all things. They have no wild schemes or reckless views; and while my heart has bled at their recitals, it has secretly glorified God in them, in view of the excellent spirit they evince under privations and trials of a sort, that few of their white brethren could endure for a moment. Having made special inquiries, and received answers as definite, I shall insert here a letter from the Rev. Mr. Cornish, which will speak for itself.

NEW-YORK, Dec. 4, 1833.

Rev. and dear Sir.—Esteeming you as one of the warmest friends of our injured people, and mindful of the deeds of your abolition sires, I beg to present to you an objection to the scheme of Colonization, which you may not have sufficiently weighed. It is—

THE UNANIMOUS AND UNIVERSAL OPPOSITION TO THAT SCHEME, OF ALL THE INTELLIGENT OF OUR COLORED POPULATION.

A few months after the organization of the Society in 1817, the colored citizens of Philadelphia, with James Forten in the chair, protested against its principles; predicted its unhappy influence; and appealed to the community in behalf of their rights. Besides, the first public Journal ever issued by the colored citizens of this republic, (with which Journal I had the honor of being connected,) entered its equal protest against Colonization; showing what we deemed the injustice of legislating away our rights—our claims to a country we had bled to redeem and sweated to cultivate, without making us a party, or allowing us a voice in the legislation, or giving us any proper representation in the discussions. These things will appear by the accompanying documents.

Subsequent to that time, in every city and town in our country where the colored people are permitted to assemble, they have always entered their solemn protest against colonization, as a system of proscription and cruelty. This is surely an objection to the plan: and though there are many others equally tangible at my fingers' ends, it is the only one with which I will at present trouble you. O think on us!

I am, dear Sir, in bonds of tenderest affection,
Yours &c. SAMUEL E. CORNISH.

Rev. Dr. Cox, New-York.

The documents to which Mr. Cornish aludes are quite sufficient and conclusive in establishing the point. His letter may be considered as the voice of the colored people universally. There can be no question that it tells the truth; and if so, I see no course left for me but to abandon the Society. There are other objections to it, as my correspondent says. But at present, I will urge no other than the one in evidence. It is cardinal, conclusive, and conquerable neither by logic nor sophistry. If it be said, they may be convinced yet in its favor: I reply, that fact will prove itself whenever it

occurs. To me it now appears about as likely as that they are not men, or that God has not "made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." If it be said, they might have been convinced, if they had not been influenced by abolitionists; I reply, there is no evidence of this; and for one, I utterly disbelieve it; supposing the other side exposed to the true and obvious retort, that few or none would ever have consented to go, if they had completely understood the matter, and if fair means only had been used by all parties to conciliate their willingness. Let us suppose ourselves in their condition, with all our boasted superiority of sense; is it very likely that we would consent—to a moral prejudice against us; to a proscription resulting from it; to expatriation as its fruit; to a denial of our nativity in the place of our birth, calling us Europeans or Africans, though actually born in America; to a banishment from the land of our present affections to a climate that kills us? Impossible! One might be made indeed, as a choice of evils, to prefer it on the principle of a greater evil for that purpose erected against us here, but properly "with our own consent," never, while we belong to the species!

From one of the documents referred to, in Mr. Cornish's letter, I make the following extracts. It is a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Williams, Rector of St. Phillip's Church on THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1830.

"The festives of this day serve but to impress upon the minds of reflecting men of color, a deeper sense of the cruelty, the injustice, and oppression, of which they have been the victims. While others rejoice in their deliverance from a foreign yoke, they mourn that a yoke a thousand fold more grievous, is fastened upon them. Alas! they are slaves in the midst of freemen; they are slaves to those, who boast that freedom is the inalienable right of all; while the clanking of their fetters, and the voice of their wrongs, make a horrid discord in the songs of freedom which resound through the land."

"No people in the world profess so high a respect for liberty and equality, as the people of the United States; and yet no people hold so many slaves or make such great distinctions between man and man."

Speaking of himself and his auditors as freemen, Mr. Williams proceeds, as follows: "But alas! the freedom to which we have attained is defective. Freedom and equality have been "put asunder." The rights of men are decided by the color of their skin; and there is as much difference made between the rights of a free white man, and a free colored man, as there is between a free colored man and a slave."

Of the Colonization Society, Mr. Williams says; "Far be it from me to impeach the motives of its members. The civilizing and christianizing of that vast continent, and the extirpation of the abominable traffic in slaves—which, notwithstanding all the laws passed for its suppression, is still carried on in all its horrors—are no doubt the principal motives, which induce many to give it their support.

"But there are those, and those who are most active and influential in its cause, who hesitate not to say, that they wish to rid the country of the free colored population; and there is sufficient reason to believe that with many this is the principle motive for supporting that Society; and that, whether Africa is civilized or not, and whether the slave-trade be suppressed or not, they would wish to see the free colored people removed from this country to Africa."

After arguing handsomely and well against removal, Mr. Williams observes:

"We are NATIVES of this country: we ask only to be treated as well as FOREIGNERS. Not a few of our fathers suffered and bled to purchase its independence; we ask only to be treated as well as those who fought against it. We have toiled to cultivate it, and to raise it to its present prosperous condition; we ask only to share equal privileges with those, who come from distant lands to enjoy the fruits of our labour. Let these moderate requests be granted, and we need not go to Africa, nor any where else, to be improved and happy. We cannot but doubt the purity of the motives of those persons who deny us these requests; and who would send us to Africa to gain what they might give us at home.

"But alas! the course which they have pursued, has an opposite tendency. By the *scandalous misrepresentations*, which they are continually giving of our character and conduct, we have sustained much injury and have reason to apprehend much more.

"Without any charge of crime, we have been denied all access to places, to which we formerly had the most free intercourse. The coloured citizens of other places, on leaving their homes, have been denied the privilege of returning; and others have been absolutely driven out.

"Has the Colonization Society had no effect in producing these barbarous measures?

"They profess to have no other object in view, than the colonizing of the free people of colour on the Coast of Africa, with their *own consent*. But if our homes are made so uncomfortable that we cannot continue in them; or if, like our brethren of Ohio or New Orleans, we are driven from them, and no other door is open to receive us but Africa, our removal there will be any thing but voluntary.

"It is very certain, that very few people of colour *wish* to go to that *land*. The Colonization Society *know* this; and yet they do certainly calculate, that in time they will have us all removed there.

"How can this be effected, but by making our situation worse here, and closing every other door against us?"

These are but extracts from a sermon which is an honor to the head and heart of its author. Here then I take my position, not to be moved by the common arguments that array their poverty against it. The colored people of this country, as a whole

and almost to a man, are utterly opposed to the system; and this alone, if there was no other objection to colonizationism, appears to me conclusive and invincible.

There are other objections, however, to that project. As a remedy for the evil of slavery in this country, it is incommensurate and puny, compared with the extent and incessant growth of the evil. Whatever may be the comprehension of the rainbow and the beauty of its coloring, it is insubstantial and evanescent; and whatever the elegance and the promise of the theory, the *beau ideal* of the system, its practical operation, or rather its practicability, is a work of centuries even in the calculations of its friends —and at the end of centuries, to say the least, there is no certainty of its triumph. Meantime, the floods are collecting behind the weak embankments, that must inevitably break away before the gathering pressure. There is a catastrophe preparing for this country, at which we may be unwilling to look, but which will overtake us not on that account the more tardily or tolerably. We do not say there is no remedy—but only that the colonization remedy is ludicrously inadequate; in effect trifling with the community, till the time of preventing "the overflowing scourge" from passing through the land shall have irrevocably passed away. I shall offer no proof to a man who cannot himself see or feel the truth of the proposition, or demonstrate it at his leisure, that the project in question, as a remedy for the slavery of this country, is folly or mockery unparalleled. It is like self-righteousness, tasking its own resources for a remedy against moral thraldom, while it rejects the mediation and attonement of Jesus Christ. But if the system as a remedy is contemptible; and, as opposed to the deliberate veto of the free colored people of this country, forbidden, by its own constitution and the consciences of Christians; then other objections become formidable that were vincible and weak before. Still, it seems to me that the system tends to blind the eyes of the nation to the actual condition of things; to prevent the prosperous action of the only true remedy; to harden the hearts of the good against the claims of God on behalf of our colored brethren; to inspire the creation or imagination of motives, to induce the consent of the free to emigrate; to withhold from the heart the resources of its own pity and kindness, towards those who choose to remain; to take from ourselves the proper motives that would otherwise actuate our Christian philanthropy, in meliorating the condition of the colored people of this country; to make us think that their universal expatriation from our shores—little matter where—is the grand ultimate desideratum of the whole concern; to induce us to blame them for deliberately choosing to remain; and to beget a state of public sentiment and a course of public action, in which *selfish expediency* shall take precedence of *eternal equity*, and invite the interposition of wrath from heaven to clear our perceptions and recover us to wisdom.

We are horribly *prejudiced*, as a nation, against our colored brethren; and are on this account the wonder and the scandal of all good society in Europe. They are perfectly amazed at it—and every American who goes there is ashamed to own the facts of it, as they disgracefully are. Says Mr. Williams; But they tell us that "the prejudices of the country against us, are invincible: and as they cannot be conquered, it is better that we should be removed beyond their influence. This plea should never proceed from the lips of any man, who professes to believe that a just God rules in the heavens." I add—or any man, who believes in the power of religion, or the efficacy of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God." These prejudices are not as hard or as bad, as the prejudices of millions of sinners against God himself, from which, as streams from the fountain, all these other prejudices against his creatures—for whom Jesus Christ died, perpetually flow. I do not believe a word of such a libel on man and God combined, that prejudices of cruelty, against reason, nature, and religion, are not to be eradicated. It is plainly and preposterously false. We degrade them, and then exclaim at their degradation.

But some will say, you are leading us to amalgamation. I reply, that consequence is disallowed; and yet its objection to our argument, may be generally viewed as nothing better than a grand impertinence. Acknowledge and advocate the proper rights of the *colored* man; who is now ordinarily a *black* man among us whites, no more; choose your own company, and allow him the same privilege; and for one I believe that AMALGAMATION WOULD BE COMPARATIVELY PREVENTED. At present, it is a process of accelerating forces. In some districts where there are many *colored* people, there are no *blacks*; the progress of mulattoizing is rapidly conforming them to the standard aspect of freemen; while the ratio of *their* increase, is fearfully and palpably greater, and this increasingly, than that of the whites. This is a prodigiously interesting point of the general subject; but we proceed not now to its discussion.

What is the remedy? I answer—THE GENUINE INFLUENCE OF THE GOSPEL; THE LOVE OF CHRIST; producing in us its appropriate fruits, "without partiality and without hypocrisy;" striving to elevate them mentally, morally, and religiously; surrendering our cruel prejudices; recognizing in them the identity of the human species, and the

rights of men, as "by nature free and equal" universally; and seeking, in every possible way, to enlighten and correct public sentiment respecting them; not by ferocity or denunciation, or epithets of coarse crimination; but by wisdom, argument, kindness, firmness, Christian example, and prayer to Almighty God, who "executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." These are the only means that I propose to use; and what cannot be done by them, I will not do. But be it here the motto of the good—WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE CAN BE DONE. To doubt this, and despair, or do nothing, is quite unworthy of a Christian. God is beginning wonderfully to act for Africa. The signs of the times are quite intelligible. They are striking and glorious. The public sentiment of Christendom is mitigating and increasing in their favor; it is becoming stimulated and enlightened; it will SOON, BY ITS GLORIOUS MORAL FORCES ALONE, melt down the icebergs of prejudice, and proclaim to the sable captives of all lands, in the inspiring language of Montgomery:

Thy chains are broken! Africa, be free!

When will men learn that the way to make others better, is to treat them generously and kindly? How is it that God accomplishes our sanctification? "God so loved the world—in this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his son to be the propitiation for our sins. BELOVED, IF GOD SO LOVED US, WE OUGHT ALSO TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER." Let these principles enlighten the eyes and pervade the hearts of our whole people—the whites, towards their colored brethren of the species, "for whom Christ died;" let their proper and spontaneous fruits be seen abounding among us—and the work is done, or it begins its efficient advances immediately, in our national community. Will any man say, these principles never can predominate in the bosoms of the whites? Why—are the whites so degraded? Darker in spirit, than the others in body? And is it a Christian, who has ascertained that their ascendency is impossible? Ah! cannot God give them currency and triumph? Who converted *him*—if indeed *he* is converted, whose unbelief is barbarous and blind enough to limit the resources of Omnipotence, in spreading the victories of "grace and truth" through the earth? We wish to do nothing in the way of violence; to perpetrate no breach of the CONSTITUTION of our country against the South; to do nothing against their will, or even to denounce them: but remembering that "THE WEAPONS OF OUR WARFARE ARE NOT CARNAL," BUT SPIRITUAL; and MIGHTY THROUGH GOD, TO THE DEMOLITION OF STRONG HOLDS;" we will respect our white brethren at the South; we will show unto them "a more excellent way;" we will remind them of THE NECESSITY OF THEIR OWN BENEVOLENT ACTION in the case; we will compare theories, with freedom and frankness, and examine all their arguments as well as entreat them to examine ours; we will deal in facts, axioms, texts of Scripture, inferences, and kindness; we will appeal to the intelligence of the South, to THE GREAT AMOUNT OF UNEASY MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS THAT IS THERE INCREASINGLY, to their piety of which they are by no means destitute, and their hopes in one for the present and the future world. We will beg leave fraternally to discuss the morality of matters with them. We will raise questions of expediency, necessity, and political economy, in the case. We will perhaps canvass their objections, and beg them to look as well at ours. We will not blame them for the legacy they have received from their ancestors, but only warn them of that they are about to bequeath to their posterity. We will admit their plea of innocence, as to the original sin that introduced slavery to our country; but question it as to "the innumerable actual transgressions," in which they may be in danger of "filling up the measure of their fathers." We may interrogate them as to their own present agency in perpetuating a system, which, whoever started it at first, it may be impolicy and iniquity in them not to arrest, and supersede by a better. We may show them the current of the portentous river, in its flood, now comparatively young and fordable; and urge them immediately to cross it while they may, lest their tardiness may be visited with ruin inundating and inevitable. We may try to demonstrate that no man will do right and remain subordinate, but as the result of enlightened and principled consciousness as an accountable being; that in order to this, he must be brought to know himself to be what God has made him—a moral agent, and so to own and feel his personal and perfect responsibility!; that responsibility without liberty cannot be felt, because proportionately it cannot exist; that if the codes of State legislation at the South are all revolutionized by their constituted authorities, so as to invest the colored people universally with the rights and the duties of freemen, with the liberties and the responsibilities of other men, they would be legally manageable, in case of any misrule, as now they are not, while the motives to honest industry, frugality, order, and correct behavior in all things, would instantly become powerful, as they never could be, in a state of abject vassalage and deep disfranchisement, such as at present defines them; and that at all events, whatever the South and the West may do or refuse to do, the Christians of the North and the East will aim at their duty in benefitting their colored

brethren universally, as they "have opportunity, especially them that are of the household of faith"—that their example may illustrate their doctrine and throw the purity of its light on distant and different sections of our national empire. If the North and the East were only connected and united in sentiment, and at the same time represented by calm and considerate and truly comprehensive persons, in a way of dignified and luminous conference with the Southrons, in the matter of their peculiar and of our related interests, might we hope for no resulting good? By the blessing of Jehovah, we might expect and achieve every thing—and slavery might be extirpated forever from the nation it dishonours.

I assume it as practically certain that the blacks and the whites, or the African and European races of men, are to exist together on this continent—till the morning of the resurection; and also that slavery cannot coexist with the desecendants of these two races, cannot exist at all, much longer. It must certainly be destroyed—and we all *know* that. I am happy here to adopt, with little qualifying, the sentiments of my amiable friend, the Rev. Mr. Gurley, the distinguished Secretary of the Colonization Society. In his able letter to Henry Ibbotson, Esq., of Sheffield, England, he thus declares himself: "I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that my hope of the *peaceful* abolition of slavery in this country, rests mainly upon the *moral and religious sentiments* of my countrymen. *This* I believe to be inconsistent with the permanency of the system. If in *any other* land slavery can be perpetual, it cannot be perpetual *here*. As well might the iceberg remain undissolved amid the sunny tropics, as this system long remain amid the kind and gentle influences that are here working its destruction. The spirit and principles of our government, the precepts of our holy religion, and the general feelings of our people *at the South*, as well as at the *North*, are against it as a permanent system. But it must be abolished *by* and not *against*, the will of the South. All, or nearly all Americans, cherish the desire and expectation that it will one day be abolished."

Yes! and that day will be hastened, just about as fast as correct public sentiment is seen to predominate, causing the bloodless victories of righteousness, accelerating the blessed triumphs of mercy. "Lord, what wilt THOU have me to do?" is the question, which every soul of us ought, in the premises, heartily to agitate at the throne of grace; and sincerity, uttering such a faithful prayer, would be certainly directed from on high! He is forever the same God, who, in a case really analogous, said to Moses from the burning bush; "I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows, and I am come down to deliver them. Now, therefore, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me; and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them." O what iniquity does He witness in our country!

Is it worth while gravely to prove that they are human beings and that the human race is identical? No! but it may be, to refute that common blunder, found sometimes even among the learned, that the curse of servitude is pronounced upon them to all generations, by the oracles of God. Gen. ix. 25. That curse demonstrably no more applies to them than to us! "Cursed be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be unto us brethren." For the sin of Ham, the youngest son of Noah, that great progenitor pronounced a curse on Canaan, the youngest son of Ham. Now Ham had four sons; "Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan." Gen. x. 6. The curse was not on all of them, but on Canaan alone. But Canaan remained an Asiatic, and was the only one of the four who did not settle in Africa. It was his posterity whom Joshua, and Saul, and David, and others successively subdued in Asiatic Palestine; reduced to servitude; thus explaining and executing the curse. Mizraim was the planter of the Egyptians; Phut, of the tribes to the north-west of Africa, as the Lybians and Mauritanians; and Cush—is the father of the great negro world, the ancestor of our colored people, against whom no such curse is recorded; disappointed as it may make some pious worthies, whose strongest motives for persecuting the Jews and enslaving the Africans, is merely for fear the Scriptures will not otherwise be competently fulfilled! Let us honestly answer their appeal—Am I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?

How was Wilberforce opposed and ridiculed at first! insulted and maligned by those that now build his sepulchre and assist in consecrating even his fame! Through what formidable obstructions did he force his way, and hold the right, and carry his cause, till the throne felt the reach of his eloquence, and the cottage responded to its manly elucidation. It was however, not the orator but the argument, not the man but the cause that electrified the nation and convinced the world. The cause of equity is the cause of God. It is also the cause of man, of human nature universally. Its attributes are eternal. It is anchored in the nature of things. It will infallibly prevail. It can be retarded only by sophistry, prejudice, a perverse self interest, the *volo* of cupidity, or the *veto* of determined pride. But even these are vulnerable, and they bleed; they are mortal, and they die. If they are opposed to God, God is opposed to them. And "if God be FOR US, who can be against us?" Let us "thank God, and take courage."